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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῇς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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612 in time, and after long consideration, may provide the offender
•183 with an excuse. There is no basis for forgiveness and reconciliation.

612 The support of kinsmen is also withdrawn sometimes in a
626 manner which does not necessarily imply a permanent rupture of social relations, though it may come to this in the end. I have previously emphasized the importance of the moral support of kinsmen when the community is evaluating a man's conduct.

[539] The idĕa that a man must defend the actions of his kinsmen is expressed in the proverb, 'Ο δικός μπορεῖ νὰ πῇ μὰ δὲν μπορεῖ ν'ἀκούσῃ. Literally this means, 'A relation can speak to his kinsman but he cannot listen to something about him', that is to say he can scold a kinsman for his shortcomings in private, but he will not allow others to accuse him in public. This in general is true, but it depends upon the possibility of advancing some reasonable explanation of a kinsman's conduct. Where a man has behaved in a manner clearly at variance with the values of the community a kinsman is forced to abandon him, and even to take some part in condemning his conduct. For if he continues to support his cause his own reputation and that of his family will suffer. By condemning the actions of his kinsmen he expresses in an unequivocal fashion that he supports the values of the community; and he maintains a measure of social distance between himself and his kinsman. In this way he hopes to avoid the taint of association with his conduct and the shame which accompanies it.

684 The history of Nasios illustrates this process. One afternoon
612 in the summer of 1953 he happened to meet Mitrina Mastoras
627 on the hill-side above his village, and there, after failing to win her willing co-operation, he attempted to take her 'by force' (μὲ τὸ ζόρι); but unsuccessfully according to Mitrina's story. The terrified woman ran down the hill to the huts of her second cousin for, at the time, her own husband was away from home. The cousin at once sent word to the husband who returned immediately. He surprised Nasios, knocked him to the ground, and had already drawn his knife to settle the matter when he was seized from behind by two villagers. In terror Nasios escaped to his home.

Public opinion was unanimous in condemning Nasios. This was not the first time he had attacked women, although on the

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- 571 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said [183] that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [579] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 574 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (*ὑπηρεσία*) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep. 581 583 554 198

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred. 581 583 554

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters. 581 583 684 558 [183]

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of 581 587 554

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554 For pride,
[585] again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented article by article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom.

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 577 554 The elements of prestige have been divided into two categories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 558 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

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203 626 [485] older women, are constantly in Jannina for business and shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of [183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.

626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more [683] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 533 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
[583]

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani
582 norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own
[183] feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage
582 is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.
584 The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age
[114] (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the [583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

/202 cont./

121 69 enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.

First, each point of law has a normative character. However, 121 since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this 183 69 critierion cannot be used by itself.

It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers, (9)

[191] [113] 9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10)

[113] 10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

121 /203 cont./
67
183
(113)

11.See Br. Malinowski: Moeurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law, (12)

(584)

12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage. and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation. If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

(113)

14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid, p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Net Adatrecht van Nederlandsh Indië, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms. For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely in therealization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

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121 671 183 legal norms are much more efficient and dynamic in resolving states of conflict than other types of norms, thanks to their means of persuasion. Thus, we come to the following point.

The distinguishing factor of law may also come from the social guarantee (16) which accompanies it and which is expressed in sanction and coercion. Law cannot live without this guarantee, at the risk of becoming a dead letter. There is therefore no doubt: this is indeed the essence of law, socially speaking. (17) Other norms also have ways of being enforced. If these ways fail, the value and nature of the content of the norm are not affected. On the other hand, if law is deprived of all means of enforcement, it changes its character, it becomes morality, usage, incentive, etc. It is no longer law.

16. According to the apt terminology of G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.

17. With some exceptions of which we shall speak farther on, all modern legal theorists or ethnologists seem to agree. Herewith a sample of the large bibliography of law on the subject: P. Roubier: Théorie générale du droit, p. 25.--R. Monier and others: Histoire des Institutions, p. 14.--B.N.Cardozo: The growth of the law/cited in English/, p. 52.--H. Kelsen: Théorie pure du droit, p. 61.--É. Durkheim: De la division du travail social p. 33-34.--R. Thurnwald: Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, vol. V, p. 2-4.--R. Pound: Sociologie du droit, p. 306.--E.A. Hoebel: The Law of primitive man/cited in English/, p. 26 etc.

[113]

121 671 Therefore sanction and coercion validate law and reinforce the other criteria indicated by clearing them of all ambiguity and all misunderstanding when they coexist with these.

Precise details on this point will be given later on. We shall show that sometimes law is applied by direct coercion which means that

629 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

629 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
626 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
696 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/398 cont./

578 121 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 591 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamic of many factors.

578 182 155 626 183 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
779 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
182

2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

578 /400 cont./
675 only in limited cases. Finally, it is certain that all relationships
182 of domination would degenerate into simple pressure relations (4)
121

4. On this distinction see G. Gurvitch: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 222.

which in their turn would become situations of conflict if the mechanism "obligation-compensation" would not intervene to /401/ ensure at least a precarious equilibrium, provided that the total social phenomenon and social structure favor it.

578 In the case of the Sarakatsani, the mechanism in question enables
675 individuals and groups not to consider their subordination as slavery
182 pure and simple. For the principles of organization of their social life
183 are oriented toward a strong integration of all elements, individuals or
121 groups in a system where the maximum of socio-economic security is accorded to all. A sort of blueprint or secular and "primitive" control which determines each person's place in advance, permits him to benefit from a maximum of foresight. The main ideas that dominates Sarakatsani social organization and emanates from the value, of community is to ensure the destiny of each of its members. This represents the chief compensation of any subjugation, and we can now evaluate it according to its true nature. Moreover, the prerogatives of each person (man, woman, headman, participants), be they administrative, family, religious or magical prerogatives, neutralize the possible feelings of frustration which otherwise could make their appearance and be extremely virulent and disintegrating.

In short, the role of the "obligation-compensation" mechanism on behalf of equilibrium and a lack of schism proves fundamental. This is so obvious that it seems to us unnecessary to emphasize it. This mechanism provides not only the justification for the asymmetries in Sarakatsani

/401 cont./

508 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their
278 realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the
182 means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.
183
121 As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists (626) exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates (177) both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

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121 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional
178 elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing
182 the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven